

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 AID-05 IO-10

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 NEA-09 AF-06 TRSE-00

OMB-01 /093 W

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P R 111640Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7406

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI

USMISSION NATO

CINCUSNAVEUR

USCINCEUR

CINCUSAREUR

CINCUSAFE

USDOCOSOUTH

USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 1154

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PGOV GR

SUBJECT: PRINCIPAL FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES DEBATED IN  
PARLIAMENT

REF: ATHENS 677, 751 AND 794

1. SUMMARY: PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON PRINCIPAL FOREIGN  
POLICY ISSUES HELD IN PARLIAMENT EVENING FEB 10.

PM CARAMANLIS PRESENTED STATESMANLIKE EXPOSITION OF  
GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON CYPRUS AND AEGEAN DISPUTE WHICH  
INCLUDED "INVITATION" TO RESPONSIBLE TURKISH LEADERS TO  
ESCHEW FANATICISM AND CONTRIBUTE TO WORKING OUT  
LOGICAL SOLUTIONS TO BILATERAL DIFFERENCES. OPPOSITION

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LEADERS CALLED FOR MORE FORTHCOMING RESPONSES FROM GOVERNMENT  
ON BOTH CYPRUS AND AEGEAN ISSUES BUT GENERALLY MAINTAINED

ATMOSPHERE OF REASON AND GOOD WILL IN THEIR PRESENTATIONS. WITH EXCEPTION OF PASOK LEADER PAPANDREOU, CRITICISM OF USG WAS MINIMAL -- NONE FROM CARAMANLIS AND GOG -- WITH UK TAKING MOST HEATED ATTACKS FOR ITS PASSIVE ROLE DURING CYPRUS CRISIS. END SUMMARY.

2. PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON CRITICAL FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES WAS HELD EVENING FEB 10. OPPOSITION PARTIES-- PARTICULARLY PASOK--HAD BEEN PRESSING DURING PAST SEVERAL WEEKS FOR SUCH A DEBATE (REFTELS). ONLY PARTY LEADERS PARTICIPATED IN SESSION WITH EACH ONE PRESENTING STATEMENT OF VIEWS TO ENTIRE BODY OF PARLIAMENT. PRIME MINISTER ISSUED GOVERNMENT REBUTTAL AT TERMINATION OF OPPOSITION LEADERS' REMARKS.

3. IN OPENING THIS FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE, PM CARAMANLIS FOCUSED FIRST ON CYPRUS QUESTION AND ATTEMPTED SET IT AGAINST BACKGROUND OF "CLEAR DETERIORATION IN INTERNATIONAL SITUATION" WHICH RESULTS IN OPERATION OF "LAW OF THE JUNGLE." WHILE ADMITTING THAT ERRORS HAD BEEN COMMITTED BY GREEK SIDE RELAVANT TO CYPRUS, HE ASSERTED THAT TURKEY HAD UTILIZED THEM AS "AN EXCUSE TO PUSH FORWARD PREPARED PLANS AT THE EXPENSE OF CYPRUS AND GREECE." HE REVIEWED HIGHLIGHTS OF CYPRUS CRISIS FROM JULY 1974 TO PRESENT, TAKING SPECIAL NOTE OF "GREAT BRITAINS RESPONSIBILITY FOR TRAGEDIES OF CYPRUS." HE ARGUED THAT UK AS GUARANTOR POWER, HAVING TROOPS "ON THE SPOT," HAD BOTH RIGHT AND DUTY TO INTERVENE AND PREVENT BOTH THE ATHENS COUP AND THE TURKISH LANDING. (COMMENT: THIS REMARK BROUGHT APPLAUSE FROM ALL SIDES OF PARLIAMENT.) PM ALSO GAVE FAVORABLE ACKNOWLEDGMENT TO FACT THAT CLERIDES/DENKTASH TALKS COMMENCED AGAIN IN JAN 1975 "FOLLOWING THE INTERVENTION OF THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE." CARAMANLIS NOTED THAT MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN CYPRUS RELATED TO A NEW COMPREHENSIVE PLAN HANDED TO DENKTASH THAT SAME DAY BY CLERIDES, A PLAN "WHICH IS SUPPORTED BY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT." IN CONCLUDING HIS REMARKS ON CYPRUS, CARAMANLIS ASSURED THE PARLIAMENT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT  
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WOULD "CONTINUE TO GRANT FULL SUPPORT TO OUR BROTHERS IN CYPRUS UNTIL FULL VINDICATION OF THEIR STRUGGLE IS ACHIEVED."

4. PM THEN ADDRESSED ISSUE OF CONTINENTAL SHELF, QUICKLY REVIEWING BOTH THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS INVOLVED AND THE RECENT ACTIONS OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WHICH HAD BROUGHT THE AEGEAN QUESTION TO A CRITICAL STAGE. HE NOTED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS PROPOSED REFERRING MATTER TO ICJ IN ORDER TO "AVERT A CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO

COUNTRIES." IN THIS CONNECTION, CARAMANLIS REBUTTED  
TURKISH CLAIM THAT GOG REGARDS AEGEAN AS "A CLOSED GREEK  
LAKE," POINTING OUT THAT THERE ARE IN FACT "INTERNATIONAL  
WATERS IN THE AEGEAN." HE ACKNOWLEDGED FURTHER THAT  
"EXTREME POSITIONS HAVE BEEN SUPPORTED ON AEGEAN ISSUE IN  
THE PAST"--E.G. TURKISH CLAIMS DENYING GREEK ISLANDS A  
CONTINENTAL SHELF--BUT ADDED THAT "THE TRUTH IS THAT  
ACCORDING TO INTERNATIONAL TREATIES BOTH THE GREEK ISLANDS  
AND ASIA MINOR HAVE A CONTINENTAL SHELF." PM TERMINATED  
THESE REMARKS BY STATING HIS BELIEF THAT IT IS IN  
INTERESTS OF BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY TO LIVE TOGETHER  
IN HARMONY. HE ARGUED THAT IF TURKEY REALLY WISHES TO  
RENEW FRIENDSHIP WITH GREECE, IT MUST RESTORE JUSTICE TO  
CYPRUS AND END HER PROVOCATIONS. HE WARNED THAT TURKEY  
IS COMMITTING GRAVE MISTAKE IF SHE TAKES GREECE'S  
MODERATIONS AND PASSIONS AS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS. HE STATED  
HIS BELIEF THAT IN TURKEY THERE ARE MEN CAPABLE OF  
REALIZING THE RESPONSIBILITIES BORNE BY LEADERSHIPS OF BOTH  
COUNTRIES AND THAT THESE MEN DURING CURRENT CRITICAL HOURS  
CAN "PLACE THEMSELVES ABOVE TEMPORARY FANATICISM AND  
CONTRIBUTE TO FINDING LOGICAL SOLUTIONS TO BILATERAL  
DIFFERENCES."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 1154

5. CENTER UNION/NEW FORCES LEADER GEORGE MAVROS INITIALLY COMMENTED THAT PM'S DELAY IN BRIEFING PARLIAMENT ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES WAS UNJUSTIFIED. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT IN FUTURE PARLIAMENT WOULD BE KEPT ADVISED "IN GOOD TIME." MAVROS TURNED TO CYPRUS PROBLEM FIRST AND JOINED PM IN CRITICIZING GREAT BRITAIN FOR ITS LACK OF ACTION DURING EARLY DAYS OF CRISIS ON THAT ISLAND IN JULY AND AUGUST. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CRITICISM OF BOTH US AND USSR FOR THEIR ATTITUDE ON CYPRUS ISSUE AND EXPRESSED DIFFICULTY IN UNDERSTANDING HOW BOTH THOSE NATIONS COULD FAIL TO HAVE ENFORCED THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UN RESOLUTIONS WHICH IF NOT IMPLEMENTED COULD CAUSE AN EXPLOSION IN THAT SENSITIVE AREA OF THE MEDITERRANEAN, HE RAISED  
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QUESTION WHETHER CYPRUS IS "PAYING THE PRICE FOR US-SOVIET AGREEMENTS."

6. MAVROS THEN CATEGORIZED NATO AS A "DEAD" ORGANIZATION WHICH HAD LOST ITS CREDIBILITY. ALTHOUGH NATO WAS CREATED "IN ORDER TO PROTECT US FROM OUR ENEMIES" MAVROS ASSERTED IT MUST FIRST PROVE ITSELF ABLE "TO PROTECT US FROM OUR FREINDS." REGARDING SUSPENSION OF US MILITARY AID T TURKEY MAVROS STATED HIS VIEW THAT IT WOULD HAVE NO IMMEDIATE RESULT. HE SUGGESTED THAT EITHER MASSIVE SUPPLIES OF EQUIPMENT MIGHT ALREADY HAVE BEEN SUPPLIED TURKEY BEFORE CUTOFF DATE OR THAT SUCH AID TO TURKEY COULD BE CHANNELLED THROUGH ANOTHER NATO ALLY. AGAIN, RELEVANT TO CYPRUS, MAVROS ASSERTED THAT HE WAS AWARE OF AN EIGHT POINT PROPOSAL WHICH CLERIDES HAD SUBMITTED TO DENKTASH EARLIER THAT DAY AND HE ASKED THE PRIME MINISTER WHETHER THE GOVT SUPPORTED IT. CARAMANLIS REPLIED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE. MAVROS THEN TICKED OFF FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY MEMBERS THE CHIEF ELEMENTS OF THIS PROPOSAL WHICH ALLEGEDLY PROVIDE INTER ALIA FOR "COEXISTENCE BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES ON A MULTI-CANTONAL BASIS."

7. PASOK LEADER PAPANDREOU WAS QUICK TO CRITICIZE PM FOR FAILURE TO ACCUSE USG IN HIS CRITIQUE ON CYPRUS ISSUE. PAPANDREOU STATED THAT THE TURKISH PLAN--WHICH WAS "ALSO THE PLAN OF THE IOANNIDES JUNTA"--WAS OF AMERICAN

PREPARATION. PAPANDREOU THEN ALLEGED THAT A GREAT ERROR IN DEALING WITH CYPRUS WAS THE ATTEMPT TO CONVERT IT INTO A "GREEK/TURKISH" PROBLEM. HE ARGUED THAT USG WAS ATTEMPTING TO PARTITION CYPRUS WITH THE AIM OF CONVERTING IT INTO AN ADVANCED OUTPOST FOR ITS IMPERIALIST AIMS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST. PAPANDREOU ADDITIONALLY ARGUED THAT SECRETARY KISSNGER WAS PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE "SLAUGHTER OF OUR BROTHERS IN CYPRUS" AND ASKED HOW IT POSSIBLE FOR A GREEK GOVT TO ACCEPT ARBITRATION FROM THE "EXECUTIONER OF VIET NAM, CAMBODIA AND CYPRUS".

8. PAPANDREOU ALSO STATED HIS BELIEF THAT GREECE WOULD  
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NOT BE INDEPENDENT OR SOVEREIGN IN ITS OWN LAND UNTIL IT GENUINELY DEPARTS FROM NATO AND UNTIL AMERICAN BASES ARE REMOVED. HE QUESTIONS WHETHER "THE AMERICANS" REALLY BELIEVE PM'S DECISION TO "PULL OUT OF NATO." PAPANDREOU MADE IT CLEAR FROM HIS LINE OF ARGUMENT THAT HE DOUBTED THE BONA FIDES OF CARAMANLIS VIS-A-VIS HIS STATED DECALRATION TO LEAVE NATO AND, TO SUPPORT HIS ARGUMENT, PAPANDREOU CITED CASE OF SECY GEN LUNS OF NATO WHO "INFORMS US CONTINUOUSLY THROUGH THE PRESS OTHAT HE BELIEVES GREECE NEITHER HAS DEPARTED NOR WILL DEPART FROM NATO." PAPANDREOU ALSO ATTACKED THE POLICY OF FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS AS WELL AS THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTRY IN GENERAL. HE ACCUSED BITSIOS OF IDENTIFYING HIMSELF IN THE UN (DURING HIS TENURE THERE) WITH ANTI-ARAB AND GENERALLY ANTI-MEDITERRANEAN POSITIONS." HE ACCUSED BITSIOS OF BEING LED INTO GREAT ERRORS SUCH AS ABSTAINING ON QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN LAST SESSION OF UNGA, AN ERROR "WHICH HAD COST GREECE DEARLY."

9. ILIAS ILIOU, PARTY CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC LEFT SPOKE LAST AND IN RESTRAINED TONES. HE ASSERTED AN AWARENESS OF "IMPERIALIST DESIGNS ON CYPRUS AND THE AEGEAN" WHICH BEGAN LAST JULY 15. HE COMPLIMENTED GOVT FOR ITS REFERRAL OF AEGEAN ISSUE TO ICJ, AND HE "WELCOMED" THE OPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS TO REVIEW US BASE AGREEMENTS. HE SUGGESTED THERE EXIST "TREMENDOUS POSSIBILITIES" OFFERED TO GREECE BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY THE SOVIET UNION. FINALLY HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CURRENT GOVERNMENT IN GAINING INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FROM SUCH SOCIALIST STATES AS YUGOSLAVIA, BULGARIA AND ROMANIA AND STATED HIS BELIEF THAT IT IS INDISPENSABLE TO PROMOTE FRIENDSHIP AND SEEK SUPPORT FROM NON-ALLIGNED COUNTRIES OR ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE ARAB WORLD.

10. IN HIS FINAL REBUTTAL, PM ATTEMPTED TO DEAL WITH SPECIFIC CRITICISMS LEFIED BY OPPOSITION LEADERS AND IN PARTICULAR CAME TO DEFENSE OF THE FONMIN AND THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE. FM BITSIOS THEN PERSONALLY COUNTERED SOME OF THE CHARGES LEVIED BY PAPANDREOU AND  
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ALLEGED PARTICULARLY THAT FOREIGN MINISTRY DURING THE DICTATORSHIP HAD BEEN LOOKED UPON AS A "FOCUS OF RESISTANCE." BITSIOS ALSO DEFENDED HIS ROLE IN UN DURING THE 1960'S, ASSERTING HIS PRINCIPAL PURPOSE WAS TO DEFEND THE CAUSE OF CYPRUS.

11. COMMENT: IN GENERAL, NO NEW GROUND WAS COVERED DURING FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE. MAJOR BENEFIT WAS THAT IT "CLEARED THE AIR" AND ALLOWED VITAL FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED OPENLY BY NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. USG RECEIVED NO REPEAT NO CRITICISM FROM GOVT SIDE AND REMARKABLE LITTLE FROM PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION PARTY LEADER GEORGE MAVROS. THE BRICKBATS THROWN TOWARDS USG WERE BY PASOK LEADER PAPANDREOU AND WERE PREDICTABLE. CHIEF FOREIGN SCAPEGOAT OF DEBATE TURNED OUT TO BE UK WHICH WAS CASTIGATED FOR ITS INACTION DURING LAST SUMMER'S CYPRUS CRISIS. GOVT MIGHT FEEL IT HAS STRENGTHENED HAND IN DEALING WITH FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES NOW THAT INITIAL DEBATE ON THEM HAS BEEN HELD. IN GENERAL, GOVERNMENT ACQUITTED ITSELF WELL IN THE DEBATE AND OPPOSITION DID NOT SEEM INTENT ON "DRAWING REAL BLOOD." ALL POLITICAL LEADERS ENDED ADDRESSES BY UNDERSCORING THEIR FIRM ASSURANCES THAT NATIONAL UNITY WOULD BE A REAL AND VITAL PRESENCE CONFRONTING FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES.  
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## Message Attributes

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